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ABSTRACT

During the 1930s in Canada, the senior levels of government and local agencies initiated educational programs to help people cope with the distress and demoralization resulting from the depression. Programs originated in eleven major areas: technical-vocational education, night schools, relief camps, educational relief measures outside camps, self help, correspondence instruction, provincial recreation, university extension, community drama, library services, and public affairs. For example, in technical and vocational education the government provided aid to technical-vocational education, unemployment and agricultural assistance, and a youth training program. In summary, the depression stimulated an increase in both the amount and the range of adult education. (CSS)

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ADULT EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING THE DEPRESSION

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ABOUT THIS SERIES AND THIS PAPER

This Occasional Paper is the twelfth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing monographs which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

The author of this paper, Gordon R. Selman, is Associate Professor in Adult Education at U.B.C. His major research interest is the history and development of adult education in Canada and particularly in British Columbia.

Gordon Selman published over the last few years numerous articles on historical aspects of adult education in Canada, among these articles concerned with the development of the field in Canada and in British Columbia, the extension work at this University and a series of articles on the pioneering days of adult education in this Province. The Canadian Association for Adult Education published his monograph A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service of The University of British Columbia 1915 to 1965. His papers Toward Co-operation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia, 1953 to 1962; Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914; and A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970, were published earlier in this series of Occasional Papers.

Currently, Gordon Selman is engaged in a long-term research project on the history of adult education in British Columbia. The study of the depression period, which he conducted during the summer of 1976, is another chapter of the project. This paper represents only a part of materials gathered on this period. It adds to work completed earlier on adult education in Vancouver before 1914 (a major unpublished study of which an abbreviated

version appeared in the Occasional Papers series) and other periods and facets in the history of adult education in British Columbia.

This paper relates the trials and challenges facing individuals and society during the depression and the ways in which individuals and society did, or failed to, respond through adult education. It is striking, in the mid-1970's, how much the situation of adult education and the challenges facing Canada are so similar then and now, in kind if not necessarily in magnitude. We may gain insight and assistance in coping with our situation today by examining the response of our colleagues forty years ago.

Jindra Kulich
Acting Director

ADULT EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING THE DEPRESSION

The 1930's are synonymous with the Great Depression. The twenties had been prosperous times for British Columbia on the whole, especially following the sharp but brief recession of the first two years of the decade. In 1929 the per capita income in B.C. was the highest of any province in the Dominion.[1] Because of the nature of the province's economy, however, the short-run and seasonal picture could vary greatly from the overall trends. Vancouver, the chief population center, had a long history of unemployment problems. It had established relief camps for unemployed single men in the early twenties. In 1925, at the height of the business boom, Vancouver had 1,800 men on the relief dole during the winter months. In his remarkable biography of his mother, Rolf Knight indicates that when she moved from Toronto to Vancouver in 1928, their experience indicated that "the depression was already on".[2] Reports in the Vancouver Sun in September of 1929, before the stock market crash, revealed that the number of families on city relief at that time was already up sharply over the previous year.[3]

The depression, when it came full force, hit British Columbia and Vancouver particularly hard. In common with the rest of Western Canada, the nature of the economy, with its heavy reliance on primary resources and exports, was such that it was especially vulnerable to the forces at work. As was clearly demonstrated in the Rowell-Sirois Report, the policies which were adopted by the federal government to combat the depression were such that the burden fell especially heavily on the West, on agriculture and the export industries of B.C. By the time the census was taken in 1931, 25.06 per cent of wage earners in B.C. were unemployed, a higher figure than in any other province. This figure almost doubled by 1933, at the depth of the depression. In September, 1931, over 35,000 people in B.C. had registered for unemployment relief. Six months later the figure had doubled. By the beginning

of 1933, it had reached 85,750 and three months later, 118,538.[4] By 1933, the per capita income in the province had fallen 47 per cent from the 1929 level.

British Columbia was affected not only by the blow to its own people and economy, but also by the fact that many people came from other parts of Canada, especially from the prairies, in the hope of finding it easier to get along on the coast than in their home areas. Much of the burden of caring for, or at least coping with the influx of transient people fell on Vancouver itself. Its charter made the city responsible for making "suitable provision for its indigent and destitute". The burden of relief expenditures soon overwhelmed the city and was subsequently shared with the provincial and federal authorities, but this remained a matter for dispute among the three levels of government throughout the depression. In 1933, $2,391,000 was spent on relief in Vancouver, of which the city's share was $1,100,000.

In terms of social unrest, the city felt the effects of the depression from the very beginning. Within weeks of the crash in late October, 1929, there were disturbances in Vancouver; the unemployed demonstrated, raided the city relief office and clashed with police. Demonstrations became commonplace. The "occupation" of Victory Square and the reading of the Riot Act by the mayor in 1935, the launching of the trek to Ottawa later in the year, and the occupation of the post office and other buildings in 1938, were but the most dramatic incidents of a troubled decade for Vancouver. The city made unofficial efforts throughout the period to discourage the transients — "the untouchables" as Rev. Andrew Roddan termed them — from settling in Vancouver, but many stayed, in spite of efforts to "keep them moving".

It has been suggested that the development of adult education in Canada, and elsewhere, has taken place in distinct phases and that important new programs and periods of growth have come about as responses to national crises.[5] Just as the individual

adult seems to experience certain "teachable moments" at times of challenge or change in his or her life, so the nation rises to the challenges it faces, in part by means of new programs designed to assist men and women to cope with the needs of the times. It can be amply demonstrated that during the depression, surely one of the most traumatic events in the Canadian experience, there was such a response. Both senior levels of government and a range of local agencies initiated educational programs in an effort to help people cope with the distress and demoralization resulting from the impact of the depression. At the federal level, provision for vocational and technical education was greatly strengthened and significant assistance was provided for other forms of education such as work among those who were in the relief camps, the fishermen, and certain categories of rural youth. The provincial government, especially after the Liberals came to power in late 1933, responded by strengthening vocational and academic educational opportunities for adults, launching the Provincial Recreation Program, which was the first of its kind in Canada, and supporting the efforts of a variety of voluntary associations through the "Self-Help" activities and in other ways. Publicly supported agencies such as The University of British Columbia and local school boards provided new services as did a variety of voluntary, service and religious organizations.

There also appears to have been considerable effort put into study and organization aimed at finding out what had gone wrong with Canada's economic and social system, and into mobilizing for bringing about changes. The formation of a new national political party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, was the most obvious outcome of this activity and represented, among other things, the search for new avenues to social justice which was going on so actively during the decade. There also seems to have been an educational by-product of the tendency towards co-operative and group approaches to coping with the difficulcies of the thirties. By the end of the period there had been a remarkable development of study group activity, drama clubs and a variety of small group

approaches to learning and self-development. There were also the beginnings of interest in leadership training for those involved in this type of activity.

Other significant developments in adult education during the period were perhaps less related to the circumstances of the depression years. The Fraser Valley Regional Library project had been started in the late twenties but demonstrated its success in the thirties and influenced the development of library service elsewhere in the depression decade and later. Much of the activity of the newly-established Extension Department at U.B.C., although directed at the concerns of the day, represented the application in British Columbia of ideas concerning the university's proper relationship to the community, ideas which had been developed earlier, in other places.

The most important feature of the 1930's, with respect to the development of adult education, was the broadening of both the extent and the purpose of public provision in this field. The extent of government's role, and that of government supported public institutions, increased greatly. In the field of vocational education, provision by both senior levels of government became the dominant factor. Especially during these years, it was the government which had the funds and there was increasing support for the idea that government had the major responsibility for ameliorating the harmful effects of the depression.

Not only the extent of public provision but also the purposes to be served were expanded. Whereas prior to this time government had seen its role in adult education to be largely in the field of remedial education and occupational training, there developed an increased willingness, in response to the distress and dislocation caused by the depression, to be concerned with the general welfare or "morale" of the population. Prior to this time such considerations tended to be the concern of voluntary and private service organizations. Now government demonstrated a willingness to cater

to the needs of the whole person, to be concerned with how the individual felt about himself and his society. Such a change in orientation did not come about presumably out of pure and wholly altruistic concern for the citizen's welfare, but at least partly was a response to the frightening realities of depression conditions. It was clear that if steps were not taken to ameliorate the situation in which so many people found themselves, there might be an inclination to adopt radical approaches aimed at changing drastically the existing social and economic arrangements. There was, of course, genuine concern about human suffering and misfortune. There was also, obviously, political concern about the stability and perpetuation of existing systems. Public services went beyond just social or citizenship concerns. Public participation and funding were extended into education for personal self-development and the cultivation of the liberal arts. By the end of the decade, public adult education services were not only greatly increased in volume, but were also extended over a much wider range of concerns.

The Conservative Tolmie ministry, which was in office from mid-1928 to late 1933, took few if any significant steps in the field of adult education. The government headed by T.D. Patullo, which held office throughout the balance of the decade, introduced a number of important new programs. The key figure in this connection was Dr. George M. Weir, the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. He had been principal of the Normal School in Saskatoon before joining The University of British Columbia as professor of education in 1924. He was known as a progressive in his approach to educational matters, a fact amply demonstrated by the terms of the important Putnam-Weir Commission report on the future of education in the province which he had helped to prepare in 1924-25.[6] In his history of education in British Columbia, F. Henry Johnson describes Dr. Weir as a "dynamic crusader" and quotes with approval Bruce Hutchison's description of him as having "the zeal of a real reformer".[7]

Dr. Weir's interest in adult education had been clearly

demonstrated before he entered the government. Although the Putnam-Weir report did not deal with adult education, it did put great stress on the need for the curriculum to be closely related to real life situations and also on the need for a satisfactory program of physical education.[8] As early as 1930, in his speeches about the future of education in the province, Dr. Weir was stressing the importance of adult education.[9] Johnson refers to Dr. Weir as "the great champion of adult education in British Columbia"[10] and during his time as Minister of Education several significant measures in this field were enacted or implemented by the government. These included a major expansion of the correspondence courses into areas of particular interest to adults, a number of programs designed to serve the unemployed, the introduction of the Provincial Recreation program, the appointment of a provincial advisory committee on adult education to guide the development of services to the unemployed, the creation of the department's community drama program, and the launching of several programs of adult education — most notably the "Self-Help" program — which involved a partnership between government and voluntary agencies. In addition, Dr. Weir gave strong support to Mr. John Kyle of his department, who had been active in the promotion of local school board night schools ever since 1914.[11] Dr. Weir was also a strong influence in the decision by the University during the middle years of the decade first to experiment with an expanded program of university extension and then to create a department to give continuing direction to the work.[12] He was also a close associate of Dr. E.A. Corbett, the Director of the newly-established national association for adult education and played an active part in the development of that body.[13]

One question which should be raised about the policy of the Patullo government concerning adult education is whether their active and innovative role in that field arose mainly from a conviction of the importance of such activity in the development of the people of the province, or whether it was seen more as a series of expedient measures designed to prevent civil unrest and despair.

Certainly considerable stress was given in public statements about some of the new programs to their usefulness in raising the "morale" of the people. It seems obvious that this was a major reason why such programs would find favour with the government. On the other hand it appears from his public statements, some made well before he was in office, that Dr. Weir himself supported adult education not just in order to cope with the emergency, but as part of his overall educational philosophy and view of desirable human development. How influential his views were in the minds of his colleagues in the government is not known. The distress and demoralization caused by the conditions of the depression called for measures aimed at providing constructive activities for adults in the province. No sooner were those conditions alleviated than the country was plunged into the Second World War, with all its unusual demands on the Canadian people. It is therefore not possible to determine what the government's policies in this field would have been in more normal times.

One means of assessing the adult education provisions at the beginning of the decade under review is to examine the directory of adult education offerings which was published by the Vancouver Public Library in late 1929. Entitled "Why Stop Learning?", it was the first directory of adult education services to be published in Vancouver, and probably in the province.[14] The publication was organized under 74 subject matter headings from Aeroplane Construction to Zoology and included others such as Art, Bookkeeping and Accounting, Dancing, Literature, Matriculation, Plumbing and Nursing. A total of 38 different agencies were listed as sponsors of instruction.

What was most obvious from examining the directory was the prominence in the listing of the Vancouver School Board night school on the one hand and the considerable number of proprietary technical, commercial and art schools on the other. (As far as can be determined, 22 of the agencies listed were of this latter type.) Because the directory was intended for use in Vancouver,

it did not, of course, reflect the availability of services elsewhere. It did not, for instance, refer to the academic correspondence courses which were available from the Department of Education (but which were up to this time not taken by many adults). With respect to night schools, it reflected the services of the Vancouver system only. This was, however, by far the largest such program in the province, its registrations in these years representing more than the total of all the other school boards combined. Many other school boards offered classes (66 in 1929, up from 49 the year before) but most offered just one or two, and like the Vancouver program, they were overwhelmingly vocationally oriented. The work of several voluntary organizations was represented as well. These included the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Council of Jewish Women, several other religious organizations and several devoted to the study of scientific subjects.

What was not included, which represented then, as it does even now, a very substantial segment of adult education activities, was work carried on by organizations for their own members. This would have included religious, service and fraternal organizations, professional and trade groups, business and industry, educational, debating and study groups and a number of organizations interested in literature and the arts. The impression that one forms about adult education at the time is that apart from the night schools and the proprietary schools, provision was minimal. The Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. had been active over the years and still gave a few classes each year, but largely a repetition of a very few tried and true practical subjects. Taken as a whole, what was available was overwhelmingly vocational in emphasis. It was left to the next decade to bring great changes in this.

Although information about adult education developments in the province in the thirties, especially in the private sector, is fragmentary, there were two general surveys carried out — in 1935 and at the end of the period — which provide something of an overview. In 1934, meetings were held in Toronto aimed at creating a

national organization to serve and promote the interests of adult education in Canada.[15] It was decided, in order to determine the extent of adult education in the country, to carry out a national survey, under the general direction of Dr. Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto.[16] The survey in British Columbia, interestingly enough, was carried out by E.A. Corbett, then of the University of Alberta Extension Department. Adult education activity in B.C. is reflected in the various chapters of the report and some reference to the details will be made below. In an appendix to the document, there is a summary by J.W. Gibson of the B.C. Department of Education which purports, apparently, to be a general description of the field in the province but which is in fact only an account of the activities carried out by the Department itself. Taking the survey report as a whole, however, what is perhaps most obvious is the greatly increased role of government and other public agencies in the field and the fact that a much greater effort than at the beginning of the decade was being devoted to other than vocational programs. Sandiford's general position was that adult education was to be "the next general forward step in government service to the people" and that government should play a leadership and co-ordinating role. He saw one of the chief purposes of adult education as "the solution of the great problem — how to restore, maintain and enhance the morale of the people".[17] This was clearly a reflection of the depression times in which the survey was conducted. With respect to adult education in B.C., Sandiford summed up as follows:

> The Government of British Columbia...plays the chief part in Adult Education. The work on the whole is fairly well co-ordinated and financed, but here again we see the need of bringing the various activities within the general 'set-up' of provincial education.[18]

Another comment of a general kind on developments in the province is provided by a report in a Vancouver newspaper in late 1938 in which Dr. Gordon Shrum, the Director of the Extension Department at U.B.C., on his return from national meetings, sums up his conclusions. He said that B.C. was leading all other provinces

in the variety of its adult education programs and in the response to them. He added:

> No other province is doing the school and community drama work which is being carried out under the provincial department of education in B.C. And there is no other program of recreational education that compares with that being conducted by Ian Eisenhardt. The most significant thing being done in Canada is the work being accomplished by the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Plan.[19]

Just after the end of the decade, the Public Library Commission of the province carried out a survey of adult education at the request of the Minister of Education and published its findings and recommendations in A Preliminary Study of Adult Education in British Columbia: 1941.[20] This was the most thorough survey which had yet been undertaken. It described the work of the various public and private agencies in the field, providing enrollment statistics in some cases. The report included descriptions of approximately thirty public departments and agencies and several hundred private and voluntary groups (all of the 186 Women's Institutes, for instance, were just mentioned as a group). Agencies described ranged from the Departments of Education and Agriculture to the Vancouver Folk Society and the Alpine Club. What is perhaps most impressive about this report, apart from the vast amount of activity it reflects, is the belief expressed that adult education should in the future become organized at the provincial level on a scale comparable with in-school education and that such a system should seek to support all aspects of adult development. The chief emphasis was on the all-round development of the citizen. The committee was chaired by E.S. Robinson, Head Librarian of the Vancouver Public Library and included two other professional librarians and one lawyer with considerable involvement in library affairs.[21] The committee, like Peter Sandiford, was in favour of strong leadership and co-ordination from the government. Their recommendations called for legislation to create a Division of Adult Education in the Department, the appointment of a director who was professionally qualified in adult education, and the creation of a Council of Adult Education

which would determine policy and on which a variety of community organizations, public and private, would be represented. Perhaps at least partly because the country was plunged into the problems of the war by the time their report was published, the recommendations were not acted upon, and indeed more than 35 years later are still in many respects ahead of their time.

One of the problems involved in any attempt to describe adult education activities is one of definition. Recent scholarship in this field has tended to restrict the term to learning activities for adults which involve a sustained contact between the learner and a teacher or instructional agent. In the period under discussion in this paper, the definition tended to be more inclusive and to embrace as well a range of learning activities of a less structured nature, some of them self-directed or developed co-operatively with other learners. Some of this latter type are included in the description which follows.

Emphasis is being given in this paper to those programs or projects which broke new ground in terms of adult education services for the province, which related in a significant way to the unique conditions of the depression period, or were so outstanding in terms of scale or national leadership that they merit separate treatment. Over and above these programs, however, a vast and varied array of adult education activity took place during the period. Many departments of government, federal and provincial, carried out large programs. Two examples would be the educational and informational activities of the provincial Department of Agriculture, through its field personnel, demonstration projects, courses and publications program and through its support of the Farmers' and Women's Institutes; and the contribution of the provincial Department of Health, by means of its public health personnel and clinics, its courses and publications. Private and voluntary associations of various kinds contributed mightily to the educational opportunities available to adults. A partial list of such organizations would include business and industry, trade

associations, professional groups, religious and service organizations, cultural groups, organizations interested in health and safety matters, fields of science or other special interests, and a range of groups concerned with aspects of citizenship such as the Canadian Clubs and the Councils of Women. A significant contribution was also made by the proprietary schools which offered instruction in business and commercial subjects, technical and vocational fields, foreign languages and arts and crafts. Particular mention should be made as well of the two national mass media agencies which were created in the period, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which was established in 1936 (having been preceded since 1932 by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission), and the National Film Board, which was formed in 1939 as a successor to the Dominion Government Motion Picture Bureau.

1. Technical-Vocational Education

A large segment of adult education, perhaps larger proportionally at the beginning of the decade than at the end, consisted of technical and vocational education.[22] At the beginning of the decade, such work was being funded under the terms of the federal Technical Education Act of 1919, which had been extended for a further five year period when it expired in 1929. This Act provided matching funds to the provinces to finance facilities and programs, including in-school education. During the twenties, these funds had prompted modest progress in this field in B.C., including the building of technical schools in Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster, the growth in vocational courses in night schools, and the beginning of vocational correspondence courses. In the 1930's, as the depression conditions worsened, to the more longstanding realization that a more highly trained work force was needed, was added the further stimulus of the necessity to provide people with meaningful activities in order to bolster their morale. The federal Vocational Education Act of 1931 having failed to be proclaimed, the province was forced to proceed on its own already strained finances to provide modest numbers of programs, concentrating

largely until late in the decade on courses for the unemployed, both inside and outside the relief camps.

The federal government came to the aid of the provinces in 1937. The Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act was passed providing a sum of one million dollars for the training of young men and women between the ages of 18 and 30.[23] In order to qualify for assistance under this Act, the person had to be unemployed, registered with the Unemployment Service, and in needy circumstances. Each province made separate agreements with Ottawa under the Act. British Columbia organized its cost-sharing agreement under the following six schedules:

A. Forestry Training
B. Mining Training
C. Urban Occupational Training
D. Recreational and Physical Training
E. Rural Occupational Training
F. Student Aid

This "Youth Training Program", as it came to be called, provided funds in support of vocational training for the balance of the decade. By 1939-40, additional schedules had been added to the agreement with Ottawa to cover "Industrial Training for War Work" and an "Aircraft Mechanics School" and work in these areas was beginning.

The apprenticeship system in B.C. made great strides during the thirties. Such arrangements had existed in various trades since the early years of the century at least, but there was no satisfactory system of regulation and this too often led to the exploitation of the apprentice. Beginning in 1926, The Building Trades Association in Vancouver created an Apprenticeship Council on the basis of the voluntary participation of some of its member companies and did much useful work in the succeeding years arranging and regulating apprenticeships and staffing evening and Saturday classes in several trades at the Vancouver Technical School. The number of apprentices increased significantly by the early thirties, reaching a high of 925 by 1935.[24] In the mean-

time, the Council continued to press for government regulation of this activity[25] and in 1935 the Liberal administration secured the passage of An Act Respecting the Training of Apprentices. This established a regulated system, including terms of service, training provisions, the responsibilities of the parties concerned and minimum levels of remuneration at the different stages. Within a very few years, trades coming under the Act included carpentry and joinery, painting and decorating, sheet-metal working, plumbing and steamfitting, electrical work, auto maintenance, sign painting, ship and boat building, repairs of electrical appliances and jewelry manufacture and repair. Classes were subsequently made available for most of these areas and correspondence instruction in some. Statistics on numbers in the apprenticeship programs under the Act were rather inconsistently presented in the reports of the Apprenticeship Branch in these early years, but it is known that there were 261 in registered programs in 1936, 180 in 1938 and 368 in 1939.[26]

2. Night Schools

Night schools under the sponsorship of the local school boards, with grant aid from the Department of Education, had been operated in B.C. since 1909.[27] The number of school boards which participated had gradually increased over the years but had fluctuated widely from year to year. Vancouver, the first into the field on any large scale, had by far the largest program, its enrollments consistently representing half or more of the total for the whole province. From the beginning, the night schools had been overwhelmingly vocational in emphasis. Courses in academic subjects and in domestic science had been added in the mid-twenties. Total enrollments had reached a peak of almost 7,400 in the province in 1924 but had dropped off in subsequent years, increasing again by 1930-31. Enrollments during the thirties began the decade at 7,179 in 1930-31, dropped to 4,600 in 1932-33 and rose again to 8,069 by 1939-40.[28] The decline in the early and mid-thirties was a reflection of depression conditions. Many potential

students found even the minimal fees which were charged to be more than they could afford. The Vancouver Province commented on the decline of enrollments in 1934, stating that there was a falling off in attendance "by reason of young people losing interest in their self-improvement when continuously unable to find employment."[29] In 1931, the Department of Education reduced by almost half the supporting grants which it paid the school boards for approved courses.

The range of courses offered underwent significant change during the period. In addition to vocational and academic subjects, school boards began to expand the number of avocational and liberal arts subjects. New courses which appeared during the decade included drawing, pottery, weaving, folk dancing, play production, current events, economics, short story writing and the history of art. The provincial director of night classes, Mr. John Kyle, actively promoted such work in his contacts with school boards and in his annual reports put increasing emphasis on their relevance to the better use of leisure time. In 1934, Mr. W.K. Beech, the director of night classes for Vancouver, described the kinds of people who benefited from night schools during the depression:

> ...unemployed persons improving skills, unemployed persons for help in getting jobs, hobbyists, those lacking basic general education, new Canadians, homemakers and, those taking courses for leisure time purposes or for the satisfaction gained from attending.[30]

By the end of the decade, night school enrollments were rising again, and the grants from the Department of Education had been increased, amounting to 75 per cent of the approved level of night school teachers' remuneration in rural school districts and 25 per cent in the larger urban areas.

3. Relief Camps

A distinctive, some would say notorious feature, of the depression years was the role of the relief camps throughout Canada where single and transient men were housed and engaged in public

works projects, in return for room and board, clothing and a minimal per diem allowance.[31] Beginning in June of 1931, the Tolmie government, on the strength of an agreement reached with the federal Department of Labour, established 228 camps (92 of these suitable for summer use only) capable of housing 18,340 men. B.C. had moved more quickly than any other province into such activity and soon ran into considerable grief over it. The federal authorities were taken aback by the size of the "bill" presented by the province and a long period of wrangling ensued. Discontent was expressed by many men in the camps, sections of public opinion in the province reacted against B.C. having to pay the bills for looking after large numbers of transients from other parts of the country, and the government "soured" on the project, ejecting 2,000 "inter-provincial transients" in June of 1932.

The federal government decided to play a larger role in this work, having become increasingly concerned about the possibility of serious civil strife or insurrection arising from depression conditions. The relief camps were taken over by the Department of National Defence, the exchange being completed by the summer of 1933. This program continued for three years, until the summer of 1936, but the unemployment situation was not remedied by that time and during the following two winters, camps were run in Vancouver.

Most of the camps in B.C., as elsewhere, were located in remote areas of the province. There was much discontent in the camps. Strikes, acts of violence and other forms of protest over conditions there were common. Men complained of loneliness, low pay, a lack of provision for recreation, unfair expulsion from the camps and a variety of other problems. In his study of the relief camps, Marion Lane refers to them as "centres of discontent" and it is easy to see why this should be so. They were a desperation measure at best. As Walter Young has put it,

> For the single unemployed men in the labour camps, life was a dreary succession of days in which there was little to do but line up for soup, while enforced idleness slowly eroded all sense of human dignity.[32]

Where men in the camps had work to do, there were frequent complaints about the supervision and conditions of work. In the last of a series of articles in the Vancouver Sun written by Bob Bouchette about the camps, he summed up as follows:

> It isn't a question of creature comfort; it's spiritual. The men in Canadian relief camps today feel that they have no place in the ordinary world. They feel that their simple rights as citizens have been taken away from them.[33]

Efforts were made to provide comforts and constructive recreation for the men in the camps, but they were minimal, especially compared to measures taken by the American government along the same lines.[34] The federal officials encouraged the provinces to send teachers into the camps. They also asked Frontier College, the national voluntary organization which for several decades had been sending labourer-teachers into remote construction, mining and logging camps of the Canadian frontier, to provide as many men as possible for service in the camps.[35] It is not known how many Frontier College field workers were assigned to the 83 major relief camps in B.C. The federal authorities also encouraged church and other voluntary associations to provide books, magazines and other "comforts" for the men. A number of organizations contributed to these efforts, which augmented the travelling libraries supplied by provincial authorities.[36] The Vancouver Sun, for instance, was active in collecting books through its carrier depots.[37] Most if not all camps had some sort of library.[38]

The response by provincial authorities to the invitation to provide educational activities in the camps was significant, but hardly in keeping with the need. The two main educational efforts consisted of the operation of "schools" in four of the larger camps and the provision of correspondence courses free of charge wherever there was interest in them. The four camps in which schools were established by the Department of Education were University Hill Relief Camp (Vancouver), Otter Point Relief Camp (Sooke), Deroche Relief Camp (Harrison Mills) and Wilson's Landing

Relief Camp (Kelowna). The schools were supervised by a single teacher in each centre. In 1934 there were 146 students in the four schools and thus it is clear that there would have been few enrollments in any one subject. A special course for camp cooks was given at the University Hill camp, attended by 25 men.[39] J.W. Gibson, the director of high school correspondence work, described activities in the camps in the spring of 1935:

> In two of the larger camps resident instructors were employed whose business it was to supervise the studies of the men in connection with their correspondence courses, and to look after books and other educational equipment supplied. In each of the two camps referred to a separate building for study purposes was erected and a third one is nearing completion. The Department of Education supplied all camp students with free books and equipment loaned out to them through the camp foreman.[40]

Correspondence instruction in the camps began as a voluntary effort on the part of instructors at Vancouver Technical School. Under the leadership of Col. F.T. Fairey, the Vice-Principal of the school (later to become Deputy Minister of Education), teachers there offered in December 1933 to prepare and mark correspondence courses for men in the camps, to be organized through the Department of Education. Things moved quickly and by mid-January, after the department had circulated an announcement to the camps, nearly 350 men had registered. At that early stage, six subjects were offered: electrical engineering, auto mechanics, geology, drafting, mathematics and engineering drawing.[41] According to stories in the Vancouver Sun, by early February the enrollment had increased to 600 and a week later to 870 men located in seven different camps.[42] The annual report of the department indicated a total of 871. The following year the report stated that in 1934-35, there had been 458 students in the courses run by the teachers at Vancouver Technical School (up to 11 teachers there became involved in the work) and 590 other men in the camps who had taken other correspondence courses from the department. In his article written in the spring of 1935, Mr. Gibson stated that in addition

to those who had taken the technical school courses in five subjects, 280 men took elementary school subjects during the year (in 6 subjects) and 681 took high school courses (in 22 subjects), making up a total of 1,347 men in the camps who had studied by correspondence.

4. Educational Relief Measures Outside the Camps

In addition to the special provisions which the provincial government made for men in the relief camps, it undertook several kinds of special educational programs for those on relief who were not in the camps. Such activity did not begin until the Liberal government came to power in late 1933. Soon after entering office, Dr. Weir appointed a committee known as the "Adult Education, British Columbia" committee to oversee and co-ordinate activities undertaken by the department for the unemployed. Mr. John Kyle was a member of the committee and directed the activities which were conducted under its auspices. The committee was made up of four civil servants plus Mrs. Paul Smith, M.L.A., who was a leader in women's voluntary organizations, and Mr. Harry Charlesworth, the Secretary of the Teachers' Federation.[44] The first mention of specific measures involving education for the unemployed appeared in the department's report for 1933-34. There it was reported that classes for the unemployed, organized in co-operation with the local school boards, had been held at North Vancouver (151 students), West Vancouver (183) and Victoria (26). There was also a report that the department had co-operated with the Department of Mines, in view of "the great demand in the country for gold" in offering courses of 20 lectures in 22 centres (through the local night school program) to a total of 2,136 students. (This program was continued in the three subsequent years with registrations of 1,174, 1,454 and 893 respectively.)

In the following year, 1934-35, Mr. Kyle's report on the work conducted under the Adult Education Committee is more detailed. Reference has already been made to the work in the relief

camps. The other activities consisted of vocational classes, the Self-Help activities, and recreational classes for the unemployed (Pro-Rec).

The vocational classes were for the most part conducted in disused school buildings, the centres being located in Vancouver (5 schools), North Vancouver (2 schools), West Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria (1 each). Courses in English for New Canadians and in Spanish were the only non-vocational subjects; other subjects included auto mechanics, cabinet making, clothing, home economics etc. Reference was also made to a series of radio lectures sponsored by the committee on "The Social Problems of British Columbia" and a night class course on economics given in Vancouver by a U.B.C. professor.

In 1935-36, vocational classes for the unemployed not in relief camps were conducted in eleven schools. In the following year, the report lists for the first time the number of students in each vocational course. Total enrollment was 916 for classes in 19 schools in five centres. In 1937-38, some of the work which had been under the committee was absorbed into the provisions under the new Dominion-Provincial Training Plan. Classes not supported by the federal grants were held in four centres, with a total enrollment of 329. There were 1,186 enrollments under Youth Training in Vancouver, Victoria, Nanaimo and Abbotsford. By the following year, Youth Training Plan enrollments had risen to 1,855 and the courses not supported by the federal funds had shrunk to 99 persons, all enrolled in English for New Canadian classes in Vancouver. The same pattern obtained in 1939-40, with 1,772 enrollments in Youth Training and 90 enrolled in English classes. The picture became somewhat blurred in the last year as Youth Training began to be used not only for training of the unemployed but also to meet certain wartime manpower needs.

Reference should also be made to a series of training courses for household helpers which were co-sponsored by the Young

Women's Christian Association of Vancouver and the Department of Education. The course was initiated in early 1934 by the Y.W. on its own, at first as a five week program (one day a week) and subsequently lengthened to twelve weeks. By the time the third series began the following year, the department had joined in as a sponsor and paid the salary of the teacher. Participants in the program were referred by welfare agencies at the outset, but as time went on the Y.W., which was heavily engaged in other projects involving contacts with enemployed women, tended to recruit more of the students on its own. The program carried on until at least 1936.

5. Self-Help

One of the most interesting and important adult education programs of the thirties was the Self-Help movement, which operated in the Vancouver area. It was directed to individuals (mostly women) and families in distress as a result of the depression and involved a beneficial and perhaps unique partnership between government, which paid much of the bill, and voluntary organizations and individuals. It was predominantly non-vocational in its emphasis and was directed at both increasing the morale of those enrolled, through association with others and through instruction in arts and crafts, drama and other fields, and also at teaching skills for the homemaker which would enable her to carry out her duties more effectively and economically.

Self-Help had its origins in the work of the Vancouver Council of Women.[46] During the year 1933-34, the Vancouver Council organized a new program for mothers of families on relief. Those who joined were formed into groups of eight and given instruction in sewing, knitting and/or quilting, the materials being provided by the Council. In the words of the Council's minutes, the objective of the work was "the prevention of spiritual tragedies through fear and suffering"[47] and it is clear that a great deal of emphasis was placed on the social as well as the instructional aspects of the group activities. By the spring of 1934, there were 257 women

participating in the program. The work had started out under the direct sponsorship of the local Council of Women, but in May of 1935 a separate organization, the Community Self-Help Association, was formed. This step may have been taken in order to facilitate relations with the provincial government, which by this time had adopted the project, bringing it under the auspices of the Adult Education Committee.[48] Several references are made over the years in the departmental reports to the aims of the program. The most expansive statement along these lines appeared in the report for 1938-39:

> Under the stress of present social and economic forces families feel isolated, lonely and discouraged, and tend to become apathetic or actively anti-social. Through membership in the ninety groups of our organization they acquire various skills, broaden their outlook, make new friends, and find an outlet for energies of mind and heart.

There was persistent emphasis in the annual reports on the provision of services to the poor, those on relief or receiving pensions, and "borderline families" which were next thing to it. In the second year of operation, Mrs. G.G. Ross, the director, presented the enrollment statistics in terms of 255 (46 per cent) participants being on relief, 41 (7 per cent) on pensions and 254 (46 per cent) "borderline or other", a total of 550.[49] By the following year, the proportion of those on relief or pensions had increased slightly and "borderline" people were listed separately as 20.5 per cent. In 1941-42, the last year of the program, only 17 per cent were on relief.

The instructional activities of the Community Self-Help Association, carried out through Self-Help centres (space made available free of charge in schools) and through Self-Help groups (which met in people's homes) were concerned for the most part with the teaching of skills in several domestic arts and related arts and crafts. In the second year under government sponsorship, for instance, the subjects taught were listed as quilt, rug and dressmaking, knitting, spinning, weaving, dyeing, carding, toymaking,

embroidery and fancy work, dramatics, folk dancing, discussions, and the circulation of books and magazines. This was a fairly typical list of activities over the years, with budgetting, choral work, physical recreation (through the Pro-Rec program) also being included in most years. Home nursing, vegetable gardening and canning and even "A.R.P. Training" were added in the early war years. The program operated on the basis of main regional centres located in city schools. The interest groups, which generally met weekly, were kept small, each led by a volunteer. They met in people's homes for the most part and then in each region there was a monthly "rally" at the centre, to which the members of all the sub-groups in that district were invited. At the rallies, speakers on educational and cultural subjects were heard, handicrafts exhibited, and on occasion, choral and dramatic works performed by member groups.

Statistics on the program were not uniformly presented in the annual reports and it is therefore difficult to trace the development of the work in any systematic way. Total registration began at 430 in 1934-35, climbed to 1,691 in the peak year (1937-38) and gradually declined to 1,130 in the final year of operation (1941-42). The number of main school centres began at 3 the first year and was up to 16 and 17 for most years thereafter. The number of small groups was stated to be 65 in 1936-37, the only year for which a figure was given. The number of drama groups and weavers' groups both reached 10 at their highest point. An additional 2,594 persons were registered in physical fitness activities in 1938-39, the high point of such activity. In her report for 1941-42, the last full year of the program, Mrs. Ross stated that Self-Help had provided service over the past years to "over 8,000 families".

For two years only, 1934-35 and the following year, reports on the Self-Help work contained as well an account of classes run by the A.O.T.S. (As One That Serveth) organization, an interdenominational Christian men's organization which was active in the field of vocational education.[50] For these two years the A.O.T.S. organized in downtown Vancouver a "polytechnic school" for unem-

ployed men. There were five classes held the first year, and at least eight the second, on various business and technical subjects (drafting, commercial art, commercial arithmetic, etc.) and an "English for New Canadians" course each year. M.J. Harrison's account of the work states that a total of "over 1,000" people attended these classes in the two year period.[51] After 1934-35 there is no further reference in the reports to this work and it is likely that it was absorbed into the regular program of the department.

6. Correspondence Instruction

Correspondence instruction had been begun by the Department of Education in 1918 and through the twenties had consisted largely of elementary school subjects and several courses in aspects of mining. In 1929, the new Conservative administration, in one of its few significant progressive steps in the field of education, made provision for the expansion of correspondence instruction with emphasis at first on high school subjects. J.W. Gibson was placed in charge of the new area. Under his vigorous leadership, rapid strides were made in subsequent years, not only in the academic high school subjects, but also in a wide range of technical and vocational areas as well.[52] When he became Minister of Education, Dr. Weir also gave strong support to this work, announcing its further expansion to cover senior matriculation subjects only a few months after taking office.[53] The Sandiford survey of adult education in Canada which was issued in 1935 indicated that B.C. was well ahead of other provinces in this work.[54] By 1937, 88 high school and technical courses were available by correspondence.

There are few figures available on the number of adults taking correspondence courses prior to 1940, when the annual reports began to include these figures separately. Mr. Kyle reported in his summary of the year 1930-31 that 45 per cent of those taking vocational correspondence courses were adults (over 18 years). Writing in 1935, Mr. Gibson stated that since 1929, "approximately 2,?00" students had enrolled in high school subjects and "about a

third of them were over 18 years of age at the time of enrollment" (not including those in the relief camps). At the time Mr. Gibson was writing, there were 967 students registered in high school and vocational subjects "almost 40 per cent" of whom were 18 or older. It is noteworthy that fees for taking correspondence courses were then graduated according to age; those under 18 (and also dependents of returned soldiers, families on relief and those in sanitoria and hospitals) paid no fee. Students who were 18 or 19 paid $2 per course; 20 or 21 paid $3; and over 21 paid $5.[55] By 1939-40, 872 adults were registered for correspondence courses during the year.

7. Provincial Recreation Program

One of the best known programs inaugurated in B.C. during the decade was the Provincial Recreation or "Pro-Rec" movement.[56] On November 9, 1934, Dr. Weir announced the inauguration of the new service. In the words of the department's annual report,

> the aims and objects of the new work were to protect the youths of British Columbia from degenerating effects caused by enforced idleness, and to build up the morale and character which rest on a good physical basis.[57]

Mr. Ian Eisenhardt, who had been working for the Vancouver Parks Board, was appointed to head up the new program. Under his leadership, and with the resources made possible by government support, the program expanded very rapidly in the first and subsequent years. It was the first program of its kind in North America and was widely recognized as an important pioneering effort.[58] Within a few weeks of the announcement of the program, it became necessary to clarify who was eligible to take part. In early January, 1935, Mr. Eisenhardt stated that the programs were "primarily designed for the benefit of unemployed young men and women, but anyone over 16 is eligible to take part".[59]

Classes were held in school buildings and other appropriate facilities which could be made available, such as church and

community halls and swimming pools. In the first few months, 19 centres were established in six communities (eight of them in Vancouver). By the end of the season, (March 31), 3,000 people had joined the centres and 2,689 came regularly to classes. From these figures in 1934-35, the program rose by its peak year, 1938-39, to 114 centres and 21,493 registrations (9,141 of whom were unemployed). The total cost of the program to government in that year was $79,441 ($15,000 of which came from Ottawa) and there were 165 full and part time staff. The program included a wide range of physical activity for both sexes, mainly team sports (volleyball, basketball, soccer, etc.) and gymnasium and pool exercise activities (calisthenics, dancing, apparatus work, boxing, etc.). In addition, an increasing amount of summer outdoor activity was added. There was also considerable in-service training for the staff during the summer.

In some respects, the most interesting aspect of the Pro-Rec movement is the fact that it represents both a type of activity and a reason for undertaking it which extended the services of government in the field of education into new areas. The stated purpose for which this new program was launched was frankly described as an effort to boost the morale of the population. This was both a sign of the times and an important extension of government's reasons for involvement in adult education activity.

8. University Extension

The University of British Columbia was founded in 1915 and from its very early days was engaged in extension work, including agricultural extension, vocational courses for veterans and widespread lecture activity.[60] Almost all such work was brought to a halt in the early thirties when the Tolmie government reduced their support of the university by two-thirds over a two year period. A fresh start was made in 1935, when $30,000 of a grant made available by the Carnegie Corporation was used by the University to survey the needs of the province for extension work and to

conduct a remarkable program of lectures by faculty throughout the province during the 1935-36 academic year.[61] As that year was drawing to a close, Dr. L.S. Klinck, the President of the University, who was a strong supporter of adult education and who was encouraged by Dr. Weir in this regard, encouraged the Board of Governors to provide continuing direction to such work by creating a department of university extension and appointing a full time director. This action was taken by the Board in April, 1936, and Mr. Robert England was named Director. He remained in the position for only one year, being replaced by Dr. Gordon Shrum, who retained it for 16 years.

The direction of the development of U.B.C.'s extension service was a reflection of the decision made by Dr. Shrum and others to reject the more traditional pattern of extension credit and other lecture courses prevalent in most Canadian universities and instead, in his words, to have the university "align itself with the new trend in adult education which advocated a more general and vocational training for the average adult".[62] Dr. Shrum set about, with very slender resources, to build up the work and staff of the department. The project which most knowledgeable observers feel was the most outstanding one developed under his leadership was the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Schools. Securing the use of funds under the federal legislation (via the provincial authorities) he organized a series of two-week residential short courses for young unemployed men and women in various communities in the province. The schools provided training in some vocational subjects, along with a variety of cultural and social activities. After a few trial shorter courses in March of 1938, the program was fully operational for the remaining two years of the decade and in that time, 39 short courses were run, with an average attendance of 53. A travelling instructional team of five persons was employed to staff the courses, with an additional group of five employed for a few months in the second year. Courses were put on at the request of the communities and local committees were responsible for all local arrangements and recruiting. The de-

partment could not keep up with the demand for the courses. The first of what was to be a long series of annual eight-week courses was held at the university in early 1940.

Beginning in 1939, the Extension Department conducted an educational program for fishermen in the co-operative marketing and harvesting of the fishery. Modelled somewhat on the well known program of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, this work was barely launched before the outbreak of the war, but even in its first year carried out impressive work by means of public meetings, study clubs, consultation with directors of co-operative organizations and other educational activities. One of the main elements of the extension program in its early years was the organization of local study groups and the provision of courses of study for them. Five courses were developed in the first two years under Dr. Shrum's direction and in 1938-39, there were 179 study groups. The total continued to grow for some years thereafter and courses developed at U.B.C. were widely used elsewhere in Canada.

Under the leadership of Miss Dorothy Somerset, the department's activities in the fine arts, especially the field of drama, rapidly developed into the most outstanding of its kind in Canada. By the fall of 1939, a comprehensive drama program was being offered including a Summer School of Theatre (begun in 1938), a "drama school of the air" involving C.B.C. broadcasts and local study groups (122 in 1938), a play lending library and annotated list of plays for the use of drama groups, a study course for local groups on the history of theatre and short courses in theatre skills, which were offered at the request of local groups.

A short-lived involvement in broadcasting directly from the campus lasted for two years in the late thirties. In 1937-38, 206 broadcasts originated at U.B.C., but continuing technical difficulties appear to have forced an end to this work by 1939. The foundation of what was to become substantial activity in the field of audio-visual services and the promotion of the use of film was

laid in early 1939 when the Dominion Government Motion Picture Bureau (later the National Film Board) decided to make the U.B.C. Extension Department a "regional repository" for its materials.

Remarkable strides were made by the university Extension Department in the latter half of the decade and by the end of the thirties it was already one of the major adult education agencies in Canada.

9. Community Drama

In 1937, the Department of Education created a School and Community Drama Branch and appointed L. Bullock-Webster as provincial organizer. It was intended to stimulate interest in drama, particularly in rural communities, and beyond that, "to teach discrimination between the worthy and unworthy use of leisure and to provide for the enjoyment of leisure".[64] Newspaper stories in the fall of 1939 indicate that the department had divided the province up into 15 "drama districts" and that each had its own annual drama festival. There were 177 adult community drama groups and 86 high school clubs active at that time.[65] When the drama activity under the sponsorship of the department is added to the work sponsored by the university Extension Department, it represents a remarkable flowering of interest and participation in this field at the close of the decade.

10. Library Services

Public libraries had progressed well in the twenties, with the assistance of the Public Library Commission, which had been created by the important Public Libraries Act of 1919.[66] The most important developments in the 1930's were undoubtedly the successful carrying out of the experiment with the Fraser Valley Regional Library system, the subsequent decision by the municipalities concerned to continue the service at their own expense, and the extension of regional or union libraries to other regions of the

province.[67]

The Public Library Commission, following a survey of library needs in the province conducted in 1927, decided to try to experiment with rural library services based on regions. They successfully sought funds in 1928 from the Carnegie Corporation to finance the project, the first of its kind in North America. It involved small communities banding together, financially and administratively, to provide public library service to the combined geographic area, using a common pool of books which could be used anywhere in the region. The Carnegie Corporation provided $100,000 and the service began in August, 1930, under the leadership of Miss Helen Stewart. The demonstration project was judged to be remarkably successful and in 1934, when the special funding ran out, 20 of the 22 municipalities involved voted in favor of continuing the service at their own expense. In the meantime, legislation had been passed by the provincial government to facilitate such regional arrangements and later in the decade similar schemes were established in the Okanagan, the Kootenays and on Vancouver Island.

Public libraries in the province, like other public services, were on difficult days during the depression. The budget of the Public Library Commission was sharply reduced early in the decade and the Vancouver Public Library, for instance, had its grant from the city reduced by almost half in 1933. The staff was reduced to half its former size and the library was closed for the two summer months. The Vancouver library entered the field of adult education programming for the first time during this decade, sponsoring an annual course of lectures beginning in 1934, and each year thereafter for eight years.

The provincial travelling libraries, boxed sets of books which were sent out to remote areas where no other service was available, continued to operate in the period and rendered particularly valuable service to the relief camps. The "Open Shelf" library service, a mail delivery service operated by the Public Li-

brary Commission, expanded rapidly in the late twenties,[68] but in 1933 fell on evil days when as a result of budget cuts the staff member in charge of it had to be dismissed. Three years later, however, the service was re-organized and the collection was greatly expanded, with the assistance of the Provincial Library.[69]

11. Public Affairs

This was a time of trouble for Canadian society and there was widespread concern about public affairs questions and the political and economic system generally. British Columbia was a strong centre of interest in and support for socialist ideas. By the late 1920's, socialist support in the province was rallied mainly behind two parties, the Canadian Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Canada. In his study of dissenting groups in the Canadian West, Walter Young states that in the case of the latter party, "much time was spent in the discussion and analysis of the writings of Marx and Engels" and that at one point, "membership in the party was ... restricted to those who could demonstrate a sound knowledge of Marxist doctrine".[70] Dorothy Steeves states in her book about the events of this period that in 1932 the B.C. Socialist Party ran classes "on Marxian economics and the materialist conception of history" at its headquarters in downtown Vancouver.[71] There were also a series of "C.C.F. Clubs" formed in the province during the organizational period of the new national party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and they conducted study group activity as well. In his study of the C.C.F. party, Walter Young has stressed its commitment as a movement to education through study clubs, reading lists, correspondence courses, study guides and summer schools. There was support for the sentiments of the party's first leader, J.S. Woodsworth, "Every C.C.F. member ought to be able to give a reason for the faith that is in him".[72] Study groups and lecture series were conducted regularly by the C.C.F. in succeeding years.[73] Other political parties conducted educational activities as well, but not on anything like the same scale.

Reference has been made to the study group activities sponsored by the Extension Department of U.B.C., many of which studied public affairs questions. A large number of other organizations conducted meetings and in some cases study groups on such topics. A review of newspaper announcements during the period indicates the activities of the League of Nations Society, the Men's and Women's Canadian Clubs, the Council of Women, the University Women's Club, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and public affairs groups in the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.

Various groups associated with the United Church were active in the study of social issues.[74] A major statement entitled "Christianity and the Social Order", which was published in 1934, was the subject of widespread study in B.C. before and after its publication. Both the "Evangelism and Social Service Committee" of the church and an allied organization, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, were also active in promoting study of social and economic policy. Mention should also be made of Rev. Andrew Roddan and the First United Church of Vancouver. Mr. Roddan was a dynamic leader of his congregation, which carried out substantial programs of relief and emergency assistance for the unemployed in the city, especially those in the hobo "jungles" and others in the area of his downtown church. Of importance in the context of this description of public affairs education at the time was Mr. Roddan's preaching ministry, especially the remarkable Sunday evening meetings at his church. On these occasions, he spoke on current moral and social issues, attacking wrongdoers with great vigor and eloquence. He attracted large crowds, many of them from among the ranks of the unemployed, and the meetings, which involved considerable discussion, often were very rowdy and colorful. Mr. Roddan (or his occasional guest speakers) often clashed vigorously with radical views expressed by his listeners and the Sunday night meetings came to be regarded by many as "the best show in town". Communists were often out in force and sections of the audience more than once broke out into "The Red Flag" song. The meetings were also seen by many to be a significant educational force, in-

volving as they did a lively discussion of many public issues of the day in which a wide variety of points of view were vigorously represented.[75]

This section on public affairs or social education is an appropriate one on which to close this survey. It emphasizes the point that during the decade under review, not only the amount, but also the range of adult education activity in the province increased very considerably. The widespread concern which surfaced in the depression period about the nature of Canadian society and which was accompanied by a flowering of small group approaches to study and discussion of such issues, carried on into the wartime period and was adapted to a consideration of the problems of reconstruction. It added strength to what has been termed the "social reform" tradition of adult education, a characteristic of the field which became much less prominent in the postwar period.[76]

FOOTNOTES

1. Chief sources of information on depression conditions were: M.E. Lane, Unemployment During the Depression, Unpublished Graduating Essay (History), U.B.C., 1966; M.P. Powell, Response to the Depression, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, U.B.C., 1967; M. Robin, Rush for Spoils, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1972; Rev. A. Roddan, Canada's Untouchables, Vancouver, privately printed, 1932; D.V. Smiley, The Rowell-Sirois Report: An Abridgement of Book I, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963; M. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Vancouver, MacMillan of Canada, 1964; W.D. Young, Democracy and Discontent, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1969.

2. Rolf Knight, A Very Ordinary Life, Vancouver, New Star Books, 1974, p. 103.

3. Vancouver Sun, September 17, 1929.

4. And these figures did not include transients who did not qualify for registration.

5. For example, see A.M. Thomas, "The Learning Society", p. 16, in Canadian Association for Adult Education, National Conference on Adult Education, 1961; Canadian Association for Adult Education, A White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada, 1964, p. 2; and H. Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge, New York, Association Press, 1955, p. 164.

6. The commissioners were Dr. Weir and Dr. J. Harold Putnam, Senior Inspector of Schools for the City of Ottawa.

7. F.H. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1964, p. 113 and Bruce Hutchison in Victoria Times, March 24, 1936.

8. See Ibid., pp. 101-114 for an analysis of the report and its influence on future developments.

9. Vancouver Sun, April 3, 1930, for account of speech to the B.C. Teachers' Federation and Vancouver Sun, March 9, 1932 for report on a speech to the Vancouver Rotary Club.

10. F.H. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, p. 230.

11. For details, see below and B.E. Wales, The Development of Adult Education in British Columbia, Unpublished Ed.D. Thesis, Oregon State University, 1958, pp. 68-69.

12. See G.R. Selman, A History of the Extension and Adult Education Services of The University of British Columbia 1915 to 1955, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1963, especially Chapter 3.

13. For information about his links with the C.A.A.E., see R. Faris, The Passionate Educators, Toronto, Peter Martin Associates, 1975, pp. 49, 151, and 199.

14. Copy is available in the Northwest Collection of the Vancouver Public Library and a news story about the publication appeared in the Vancouver Sun, January 6, 1930.

15. For information about the origins of the C.A.A.E., see Isabel Wilson, "The Canadian Association for Adult Education" in J.R. Kidd, Adult Education in Canada, Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950; E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1957; and R. Faris, The Passionate Educators.

16. Peter Sandiford had been a member of the staff of the Putnam-Weir Commission in 1924-25. Also, see P. Sandiford, Adult Education in Canada: A Survey, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1935.

17. Ibid., Chapter XX, p. 7.

18. Loc. Cit.

19. Vancouver Province, November 25, 1938. Eisenhardt was Director of the Pro-Rec program.

20. Typescript multilith, Victoria, 1942.

21. Other members were C.K. Morrison, Superintendent of the Public Library Commission; John Ridington, U.B.C. Librarian; and H. Norman Lidster, a lawyer and member of the Public Library Commission.

22. Concerning the sections below which deal with vocational education, the author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. John Dwyer, who carried out some of the research.

23. For further details on this Act, see J.S. Dupre, et al., Federalism and Policy Development, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1973, p. 14 ff.

24. Where it is clear in what follows that such information has been taken from the B.C. Public School Reports for the appropriate years, further footnotes will not be given.

25. The Vancouver Sun gave editorial support on December 13, 1929.

26. In 1938, 36 of these were in a "B" category, trades not officially designated under the Act but contracts supervised by the Branch. The corresponding figure in 1939 was 88.

27. For more detail on the origins of night schools, see G.R. Selman, "Origins of Public Locally Sponsored Evening Classes in British Columbia", Continuous Learning, Vol. 10, No. 4-5 (July-October, 1971) pp. 199-207; and B.E. Wales, The Development of Adult Education in British Columbia.

28. Figures for each year available from departmental reports and from B.E. Wales, The Development of Adult Education in British Columbia, p. 216.

29. Vancouver Province, September 5, 1934.

30. Vancouver School Board Night School Report 1934, quoted in B.E. Wales, The Development of Adult Education in British Columbia, p. 166. This was one of the earliest references to English classes for newcomers under public auspices.

31. For information about relief camps, see M.E. Lane, Unemployment During the Depression and T.W. Tanner, Microcosms of Misfortune, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1965.

32. W.D. Young, Democracy and Discontent, p. 47.

33. Vancouver Sun, January 2, 1935.

34. See T.W. Tanner, Microcosms of Misfortune, p. 106 ff. for comparison with the U.S.A.

35. Frontier College had been founded in 1901 and arranged for young men, mostly university students, to work for the summer months in camps, where they worked alongside the other men, drawing the regular pay, and also worked in the evening organizing educational activities.

36. See long article by C. Norman Senior in Vancouver Sun, February 3, 1934.

37. Vancouver Sun, February 2, 10 and 13 and September 8, 1934.

38. R. Liversedge, Recollections of the On-To-Ottawa Trek 1935, Vancouver, privately printed, n.d., p. viii.

39. The B.C. Public Schools Report 1934-35 gives a figure of 84.

40. J.W. Gibson, "Adult Education in British Columbia", pp. 4-5, appendix to P. Sandiford, Adult Education in Canada: A Survey. Liversedge states that three camps had schools.

41. Vancouver Sun, January 11, 1934.

42. Vancouver Sun, February 3 and 10, 1934.

43. J.W. Gibson, "Adult Education in British Columbia", p. 4.

44. The committee appears to have been in existence for only two years, there being no reference to it in the report for 1936-37 or thereafter.

45. M.P. Powell, Response to the Depression, pp. 26-29.

46. For general background on the Council of Women, see R.L. Shaw, Proud Heritage, Toronto, Ryerson, 1957.

47. Quoted in M.P. Powell, Response to the Depression, p. 73.

48. Mrs. Paul Smith, M.L.A., a member of the committee, was a long-time leader and past-president of the Council of Women.

49. This breakdown not given for 80 others who were in choral or dramatic groups.

50. For background on the A.O.T.S., which was founded in 1922, see M.J. Harrison, The Social Influence of the United Church of Canada in British Columbia 1930-1948, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1975, p. 61 ff. See also Vancouver Sun, October 7, 1929.

51. Ibid., p. 61.

52. For biographical information, see Belle C. Gibson, Teacher-Builder: The Life and Works of J.W. Gibson, Victoria, privately printed, 1961.

53. Reported in Vancouver Province, June 5, 1934.

54. See especially Chapter XIII.

55. These details contained in J.W. Gibson, "Adult Education in British Columbia", pp. 5-6.

56. See T.C. Arnold, The Status and Influence of Sport and Physical Recreation Activities in British Columbia during the Depression and World War II, Unpublished M.P.E. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973.

57. B.C. Public Schools Report 1934-35. See also Vancouver Sun, November 9, 1934, which carries an article on the launching of the program and also states that Robert Cromie, publisher of the Sun, brought the idea to the attention of the Minister.

58. T.C. Arnold, The Status and Influence of Sport and Physical Recreation, p. 13.

59. Vancouver Sun, January 9, 1935.

60. Most of the following account is based on G.R. Selman, A History of Extension and Adult Education Services of The University of British Columbia 1915 to 1955.

61. 893 lectures were given during the year, many of them in extended series on related topics.

62. Extension Department Annual Report 1943-44.

63. In the spring of 1939, and for the following two years as well, the home economics specialists on the Youth Training staff conducted workshops in various parts of the province under the sponsorship of the Women's Institutes. There were 36 such courses in 1941 alone.

64. Quotation from F.H. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, p. 231, which was based on a departmental bulletin of 1948.

65. Vancouver News Herald, September 1, 1939, and Vancouver Sun, October 20, 1939.

66. For a general history of library development in the province, see M.C. Holmes, Library Service in British Columbia, Victoria, Public Library Commission, 1959.

67. For detail on the Fraser Valley project, see R. Ley, A Brief History of the Fraser Valley Regional Library, Abbotsford, F.V.R.L., 1971; and M. Gilroy and S. Rothstein, As We Remember It, Vancouver, U.B.C. School of Librarianship, 1970, pp. 20-47.

68. Vancouver Province, May 31, 1931.

69. M.C. Holmes, Library Service in British Columbia, p. 19.

70. W.D. Young, Democracy and Discontent, p. 11.

71. D.G. Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, Vancouver, Boag Foundation, 1960, p. 77.

72. W.D. Young, The Anatomy of a Party, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 4, 50-53, 70 and 181.

73. See for instance Vancouver Province, February 2, 1939, for reference to a lecture given at "the C.C.F. Winter School".

74. M.J. Harrison, The Social Influence of the United Church, pp. 71-78 and 110-14.

75. See also A. Roddan, The Church in the Modern City, Vancouver, privately printed, n.d. (1945?) p. 35.

76. For further discussion of these trends in the field, see Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators, and W.E. Cotton, On Behalf of Adult Education, Boston, Centre for the Study of Liberal Adult Education for Adults, 1951.